1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

tree," *rotinuet* (*higelia æthiopica*); and *maiyek*, eleusine beer, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *lohomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *motoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkorom ..	25	15	4
Koret of Sosoiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kelpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 Fl6 Dorobo Fl6

wants it, i. e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type, and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shoved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 285

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly layed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, *motoket*, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (e. g. blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 281 [462] [415] 283 [412] 415 [825] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were: 434 435

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.

1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.

2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kerepet*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[804] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kerepet*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
439 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruos in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruos; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among
[317] them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 16 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give
[241] confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

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Fig. 8. A Simpler Kind of Springe. This trap has no "trigger-peg". The animal treads on the platform and by so doing presses it against the upright K to which liana *b* is attached, thus releasing the liana and allowing the bent stick D to spring upright and tighten the noose round the neck of the quarry.

when an animal treads on it, allowing the liana to slip over the top and thus release the bent stick D.

Hunting parties might be made up by as many as eight men, though I think that probably four or five was a more usual number. A common practice was for half the party to work along one bank of a stream and the rest along the other bank, so that if there was nothing on one side, those on the other side might be more successful; or if the quarry got across the stream, the men on the other side would be able to deal with it. When a kill was made all the hunters assembled. The animal was skinned, the meat cut up, and some of it eaten on the spot, either raw, or partly cooked by laying it across a rough wooden framework over a fire. The rest of the meat was divided among them and taken home. In the best days, when meat was plentiful, what was left over was dried and kept either as a reserve or else exchanged with the Nandi for eleusine and millet. A stack of dried meat (*sirikeniot*) about 2 ft. square, was sold for about 25 lbs. of grain. Meat is cut into strips (*sir*, whence *sirikeniot*) which are laid out on the drying tray or loft over the fire to be smoke-cured after being dried on the roof of a hut or in the fork of a tree.

c) Agriculture

Since they can no longer hunt, and present conditions are[18] not favourable for the acquisition of cattle on a large scale (even if the Dorobo had the means of so doing), the adoption of agriculture has become an economic necessity, and methods, implements, and seed have been obtained from the Nandi. This change from hunting to agriculture has taken place virtually between the years 1927 and 1938. In the first of these years the area cultivated by them was so small as to be negligible; but by the latter year their lives were, as we have seen, to a great deal centered on agriculture. And as with hunting in the old days, so with agriculture to-day, the growing of crops is naturally regulated by the wet and dry seasons and the main divisions of the agricultural year are:

January to April: preparation of the land.
April-May: planting.
September: reaping.

[18] This refers to the years 1938-39.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

241 The planting and reaping periods vary according as the rains are early or late.
[221] Between them there is a time when the crops have to be weeded, and after that for two or three months a time when little need be done to the crops but guard them against animal depredations.

The Dorobo grow two main crops, *pik* or *poisk*, eleusine coracana (commonly known in Kenya as *wimbi*), a short gramineous plant bearing a head composed of small grains; and *chemdek*, maize. Millet had not been
[435] adopted by 1939 as a cultivated crop, and when wanted had to be bought from the Nandi. As a subsidiary crop, sweet potatoes, *rujowsik*, are grown to a small extent.

[412] Implements are confined to the hoe (*mukombet*), axe (*ndolet*), and ordinary knife (*rembolnet* or *rutwet*), though the use of the *panga* or cutlass
[439] is spreading. Hoe-blades (made by Nandi smiths) and *pangas* (sold by traders) are got from the Nandi in exchange for baskets, honey, or skins. The bill-hook, though used by the Nandi had not been adopted by the Dorobo in 1939.

The ground is prepared in the same way as by the Nandi. The top soil is dug with the hoe, collected into small heaps, and fired; it is left smouldering for several days and the burnt earth and vegetable ash are then spread over the plot and dug in with the hoe. Seed of maize and eleusine is
[434] bought from any Nandi who is willing to sell it, usually one of the numerous
• [435] squatters on the nearby farms[19]. The Dorobo get two basketfuls in exchange for one basket. Potatoes (when not got in the same way) are generally grown by themselves, but maize and eleusine are planted together in the same plot so that the eleusine grows up between the maize plants. Maize has thus to be sown wider than is really economic, but it is a Nandi habit, and in favour of it one may say that the intervening spaces are partially covered and thus there is a chance of preventing some erosion in the early stage when the ground is clean, for when the crop is a few inches high, people turn out to weed, a process repeated if the land gets very dirty.

[417] Each shamba is surrounded by a fence made of thorns and bushes, with occasional posts to strengthen it where necessary, and trees or stumps are included in the fence when they occur in suitable positions. Sometimes there is a gate formed of movable upright poles, like the gate of a Nandi cattle enclosure, but usually the line of fence is unbroken, and access is by way of a rough stile of logs laid across the thorns.

243 Eleusine is reaped in the Nandi fashion by cutting off the heads with a knife, the straw being left to be trampled down and eventually dug in — that is, if the shamba is to be planted again. Maize is picked by hand, but in 1938 it was largely eaten on the field as the cobs developed, so that by the time it was fully ripe there was not much left to reap. By 1938, however, some
[197] Dorobo at Kipukua, noticing the European practice of stooking maize in rows before it is ripe, cut and stooked their own in the same way, though they did not understand why it was done by the Europeans, whose object

[19] A Squatter is a "resident native labourer" living on a farm under contract with the employer.

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[341]

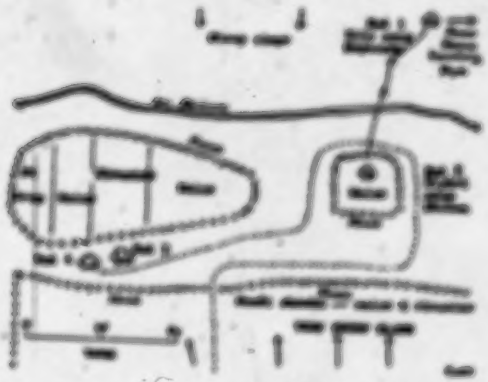

Fig. 4. Plan of a Dorobo shamba at Kolpot alongside a Nandi shamba.

at Kipsikus in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kowoiet*, that the original shamba had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a shamba all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area inside a fence, each contributing to the labour of making it; and in some cases Dorobo share part of a fenced shamba with Nandi (Fig. 4).

[448]
317

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or *Tembaroa*, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, *kamet*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who hunted over that tract of land, and though no fee seems to have been paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. To-day the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Nandi, who pay them at the rate of 2 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *ondoit*, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes cassava oil) for rubbing on the head; white earth, *emeriot*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

[462]
[423]
439
435
302
789

(b) Cattle

231
177
181

If the Dorobo had not been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have contented themselves with agriculture and no live stock. But their relations with the Nandi have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

[552]